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Murder and Anti-Religion in Spain

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Reprinted from the New York Times in the issue of December 7, 1936.

ALL semblance of democratic forms and usages of government has disappeared in Spain, and the first sensation of a newspaper correspondent on arriving in France after covering the civil war for four and one-half months is one of profound relief from strain—relaxation from fettering restrictions, as though a great burden of prohibitions had been lifted from his shoulders.

There is no freedom whatever allowed journalistic investigation, and the strictest censorship imaginable is imposed on all news dispatches sent out from Madrid. Any one engaged in reporting the course of events is in danger of being seized as a spy and perhaps shot summarily before he can prove his innocence. Any account of anything which is not favorable to the Government is unacceptable to the censor. There is also the constant danger of being denounced as a Fascist sympathizer by some one who has only a real or fancied personal grudge against you. Hundreds of luckless Spaniards who held the most liberal political views have been slain in Madrid because they were denounced by former servants who were discharged for incompetence.

The intolerance of the Spaniards embroiled in the fratricidal strife has become so intense that an impartial foreigner cannot be friendly with two Spaniards whose political beliefs are even slightly in conflict. If a Communist or Anarchist saw me conversing with another acquaintance whose political affiliation was less radical, all my movements would be shadowed and I might be under the surveillance of "public investigation brigades" for days. On one occasion I was followed by a public investigator for hours until finally one of the guards in an American bank assured him I was not an enemy of the régime. All my local telephone conversations were listened to by the Bureau of Public Investigation Serv-

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ice. Once I was denounced as a spy by a drunken Polish volunteer aviator in a public bar after I had declined to drink with him. I had to go to a near-by police station to establish my identity, but fortunately a French volunteer flier who knew me accompanied me and vouched for me. When I visited a big dam near the source of the Alberche River to see how much water had been released through its sluice gates to flood the territory where the Insurgents were advancing toward Toledo late in September, I was arrested in the village of El Temply by illiterate militiamen, who insisted I was a German and to whom my passport meant nothing because they could not read. The most disagreeable part of my work was being obliged to walk home in pitch darkness late at night from the telephone building, where all the correspondents had to do their censored telephoning. We had to wait for hours for our turn after booking our calls because there was only one line in service to Paris and London by way of Valencia and Barcelona. All street lights were extinguished at 10 o'clock early in the war, and beginning late in October the curfew hour was moved up to 8 o'clock. We had safe-conduct passes, which we had to produce every 200 or 300 feet upon being challenged in the darkness by nervous young militiamen, who read them under flashlight while keeping one covered with an ugly black automatic pistol, usually of large caliber.

CRISIS ENDED BY OUTSIDE AID

On November 7th, when Premier Francisco Largo Caballero and his Cabinet departed, the Ministers frankly admitted, it was learned from informed sources, that the Government considered the situation hopeless and was prepared for a major event within twenty-four to forty-eight hours. The defending militia was at that time demoralized and disorganized. The civilian populace was also demoralized, as a result of aerial and artillery bombardment. But for some undisclosed reasons—possibly because of his ultra-conservative policy—General Franco did not seize his chance to enter the city then and there. We who were in Madrid could not understand why. Then the Madrid Government began receiving arms, munitions and men from outside. There came tanks, guns and airplanes from Russia, and other munitions and assistance, it seems probable, indirectly from

France. Besides, there were foreign volunteers—the International Column, as they have been termed—comprising the Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Battalions. They were mostly Russians, but included Poles, Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen and anti-Fascist Italians, with a small sprinkling of British Communists.

Thus what started in July as purely a civil conflict between Spaniards is gradually spreading into an international war in which elements from all parts of Europe are joining according to the ideas they profess. Men of many nations are fighting in the Loyalist front lines and there are signs that the complete direction of Madrid's defense is shifting into foreign hands. For a long time the defenders have been accepting help from foreign advisers.

FOREIGNERS IN REBEL RANKS

On the Rebel side German and Italian aviators are reported fighting for General Franco, whose troops include Moors and men of the Spanish Foreign Legion. But the leadership still remains in the hands of Spaniards, who are perhaps dependent, like the Loyalists, on outside help for men and supplies. How long this enlarging conflict can be prolonged is difficult to estimate.

General Franco has consistently shown himself to be cautious and conservative. It is said of him that he never puts his right foot forward without first consulting his left. It took him a long time to relieve the Insurgent cadets holding out in the Alcazar in Toledo. In fact, all hope of relief there had been nearly despaired of before his forces entered the ancient imperial city of Castile. The Rebels, it is generally believed, have no more than 30,000 men to take Madrid, which is defended by a militia force estimated to number from 50,000 to 100,000 men.

REBEL OFFER SPURNED

General Franco's offer to respect both the diplomatic and the Salamanca districts, if they were not fortified and if government artillery were not placed in them, was rejected by the Loyalists at the beginning of the siege. Nevertheless, these quarters have not been bombed from the air or shelled, with a few exceptions on the outskirts of the Salamanca district. Leaflets signed by General Franco and dropped on the

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city by his air raiders as late as November 21st, advised all women, children and sympathetic non-combatants to take refuge in the northeastern part of the city. All other sections of Madrid—especially the center, where nearly all the Ministries are clustered—have been bombed and shelled heavily.

Machine guns and ridiculously ineffectual anti-aircraft guns firing one-pound shells are mounted on the tops of all the ministries and tall buildings in the center of the city, such as the Fine Arts structure in Calle Alcalá, Madrid's main street, and the Palace of the Press in the Gran Vía, or Broadway. Batteries of six-inch guns have been placed in Callao Square, directly in front of the Palace of the Press, and in one corner of the Retiro, the vast public park; near the Prado Museum, the observatory and the Ministry of Public Works.

Many apartment buildings in this vicinity and in the southeastern part of the city have suffered badly from bombing and shelling because of the near-by presence of the Leftist artillery, which was easily located by Rebel scouting planes. The Atocha or Andalusian Railway Station, where more batteries were placed, and the Hotel Nacional, facing it just across the square and fully occupied by Loyalist militia, also were justifiable targets for the Insurgent artillery and bombers.

Observation posts for the Government's artillery are stationed in the towers of the taller buildings in the business center of the city and hence the non-combatant inhabitants of this congested area cannot expect to be spared as long as observers controlling the fire of Loyalist guns by telephone remain on the top floors of the city's sky-scrapers. It is evident that the Rebels know where the Government's guns and artillery observers are because direct hits have been scored by shells and bombs on the War Ministry, the Atocha and North Railway Stations and on the Madrid-Paris department store building, which houses the Union Radio station and the Socialist evening newspaper *Claridad*, the organ of Premier Largo Caballero.

REBELS DISCLAIM RESPONSIBILITY

It cannot be helped that women, children and aged persons have taken refuge in the basements of these structures, say the Insurgents, who maintain that the Leftists

ruthlessly expose them to danger by housing them in buildings that have been converted into fortresses. It is argued that the Government has made itself responsible for all the harm that may befall civilians by attempting to defend what the Rebels term an unfortified open city.

Leaflets distributed daily by Communist, Anarchist and Syndicalist organizations urge and instruct the populace to continue its resistance—"even to the last breath"—as the enemy's troops penetrate the streets of the city. "Let every house be a fortress," one leaflet said. "Fire on troops from upper-story windows. Fill a bottle with gasoline, stuff cotton in the mouth, ignite and throw it at the enemy's tanks. Build barricades in every street with anything available. If Madrid is to fall into the enemy's hands, he must find only heaps of ruins and piles of dead."

Of course, it is far from true that all of the unhappy resident population left in Madrid is in complete accord with this ferocious proletarian-directed determination to defend the city unto death.

MANY FAVOR NEITHER SIDE

There is a considerable section that wants neither Fascist nor Red rule, but everybody, even including the children who go from house to house and through the streets passing collection boxes for various Leftist relief funds, has been mobilized or at least pressed into what proletarian leaders have conceived as a great militarization scheme. Middle-class shop clerks, bookkeepers, bank employees and other office workers who were not previously organized, have been terrorized into joining either Marxist or Syndicalist labor unions. Once enrolled, they have no choice about fitting into the militarization plan. Some of the luckier ones among those with no taste for front-line fighting have managed to be put to work digging trenches or building barricades, while others have been assigned to employment in the haphazard emergency agencies struggling with the problem of provisioning the militia and the civilian populace.

Meanwhile Madrid is hungry, heatless and homeless to a large extent, and is mostly unwashed. There is scarcely any coal to warm the shivering occupants of the houses, apartments and tenements still standing, which have had most of their windows shattered, allowing the bitter Winter

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winds from the mountains to sweep through them. Most of these unfortunates pass almost sleepless nights huddled in poorly ventilated cellars because they are too terrified to remain above ground after a death-dealing bomb has fallen from the sky or a big shell has struck near them.

MILITIA STILL WELL FED

Apparently the Government militia still is being fed adequately, but only a few crumbs are left from their mess table for the civilian populace. Potatoes, eggs, and meat are rare delicacies that most civilians have not tasted for many weeks. Food cards have been issued to householders and heads of families for the last several weeks, but long before the end is reached of the lines formed outside the bakeries, groceries and dairy stations and near the few butcher shops and vegetable and fruit vendors still doing business, many luckless housewives and servant girls are sent away with empty baskets. As the doors are closed in their faces they are told to come back "tomorrow" with food cards.

For two months there has been no gas for cooking in Madrid because coal is lacking to manufacture artificial gas. Although Madrid's two sources of water supply, both outside the city limits, have not yet been cut by the besieging army, bombs and shells that have made deep holes in many streets have also broken a large number of water mains, resulting in several entire districts being completely deprived of water. It is necessary for the residents of these districts to carry water in vessels of every description back to their homes from public fountains and pumps—often at a considerable distance—in neighboring quarters.

THOUSANDS LIVE IN SUBWAYS

Thousands of homeless families evacuated from villages west of Madrid or from the Arguelles quarter of the city are living in the underground railway system, not only in the subway stations but along the tracks. They camp down there day and night, cooking, eating and sleeping as best they can. Many have not come to the surface since they went underground to live. Naturally all train service had to be suspended, and judging by the foulness of the air when this correspondent visited a section of the line near the the

Bank of Spain station, no satisfactory means of ventilating the subway has been found.

Furthermore it is the sad fate of these subway dwellers not to be safe from enemy aviation bombs even in their dark and unhealthful abode, because huge projectiles dropped by air raiders already have crashed through the streets onto the subway tracks below in two places in the heart of the city. Because street car tracks have been torn up by bomb and shell explosions, service on several surface lines has also been suspended. Consequently, quite a number of street railway and subway employees who heretofore congratulated themselves on being exempted from military service are more than a little worried at present.

In view of the general undernourishment, the lack of fuel for heating and the restricted water supply, which limits human cleanliness and sanitary conditions in the city (the streets are washed only by rain nowadays) there is a real danger of a serious epidemic in Madrid. Dead dogs, donkeys, mules and even some humans had to be left lying in the streets under the ruins of buildings for days in the heavily bombarded northwestern section of the city.

The destructive power of 400-pound and 500-pound bombs dropped by the tri-motored Insurgent planes almost defies description. The bombs can be plainly seen with the naked eye as they fall from the machines, flying at a height of 2,000 or 3,000 feet. So heavy are these messengers of death that the bombing planes tip to one side and wobble a little as they are released. When the bombs strike the earth great thick clouds of yellow, black and red smoke mixed with stones and brick dust rise several hundred feet.

CITY LACKS AIR DEFENSES

Eight and ten story buildings are partly or wholly leveled. The city is singularly helpless and defenseless against attacks from the air because the Government's anti-aircraft armament is practically useless. About a dozen machine guns and one-pounders, handled by woefully inexperienced militiamen, have not brought down a single enemy plane so far, all the claims in Government communiqués notwithstanding. Loyalist aviators have grounded a few Rebel machines by good machine-gun marksmanship, by colliding or by lock-

ing wings accidentally with their adversaries and being forced to bail out in parachutes.

Virtually all the Government fliers are foreigners, the few Spaniards who enlisted in the Loyalist air force at the outset of the war having been shot down long ago. Until the recent arrival of Russian war planes, reportedly numbering 200, with an undisclosed number of Russian pilots, most of the Government aviators were Frenchmen who had gone to Spain either because of Communist sympathies or because they had been attracted by offers of generous pay (at first, 25,000 francs monthly, but later, 12,000) and the lure of adventure.

There were also some British, Polish, anti-Fascist Italian and anti-Nazi German fliers in the beginning, but most of these have long since been killed or seriously wounded or have departed because they were "fed up" with the war. Of six young British pilots who joined the Loyalists in the early days of the conflict, only one remains today. Two were killed, one was severely wounded and the two others simply decamped. Judged on their performances, evidently few of the foreign volunteers in the Government air force have been high-grade pilots. They seem to have been made up mostly of machine-gunners and mechanics of French military aviation or commercial airlines, of young British college Communists and of various others with little flying experience.

Russia's Part in Spain's Civil War

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Reprinted from the New York Times in the issue of December 7, 1936.

FOR some time Russia has been running the show in Spain in so far as the Madrid Government's resistance to General Franco's Insurgent movement is concerned. Weeks before members of Premier Largo Caballero's comprehensive Popular Front Government, including the doctrinally non-political Anarcho-Syndicalists, decided it was safer for their own skins to move to Valencia, Marcel Rosenberg, first Soviet Ambassador to the Spanish republic, was sitting

in at all Cabinet council meetings. In fact, his voice in these councils was generally understood to carry more authority even than that of the Premier, who has been manfully trying to live up to the title of the "Spanish Lenin," accorded to him by the trade union element of the Spanish Socialist party, which has always aligned itself solidly with the Third International.

It was Mr. Rosenberg who hand-picked the Largo Caballero Cabinet, formed on September 4th, to succeed the manifestly impotent Giral government selected by President Manuel Azaña himself largely from members of his own Left Republican party. Mr. Rosenberg decided that Julio Alvarez del Vayo, former Ambassador to Mexico and Premier Largo Caballero's right-hand man, should be Foreign Minister.

NAMED ENVOY TO MOSCOW

Mr. Alvarez del Vayo has written books about Soviet Russia, and in 1933, before the fall from power of Leftists led by Mr. Azaña, he was named as the Spanish republic's first Ambassador to the Soviet Union. The victory of the Right at the general election in November, 1933, however, prevented Mr. Alvarez del Vayo from taking the post in Moscow.

Mr. Rosenberg is known to have insisted that Madrid defend itself after Toledo fell to the Insurgents and it became apparent that the capital would be General Franco's next objective. There was some inclination among the Loyalists as the enemy steadily advanced on the capital to urge the transfer of the seat of government to the Mediterranean seaport, but Mr. Rosenberg firmly vetoed this. He was more instrumental than any one else in naming General José Asensio Under-Secretary of War under Premier and War Minister Largo Caballero. General Asensio was chosen to act as technical commander-in-chief of the unified Government militia forces.

When the necessity to fortify Madrid and prepare its defenses confronted the Largo Caballero Government a propaganda campaign, obviously inspired by Moscow's representatives, was launched on a big scale. Russian ships, loaded with food and clothing bought with funds raised by popular subscription in the Soviet Union, began to arrive at Barce-

lona, Valencia, and Alicante. Posters bearing huge portraits of Joseph Stalin and quoting his statement that it was the obligation of Russian Communists to aid their brothers in Spain, appeared all over the city. Other posters pointed out that early in the Bolshevik Revolution Petrograd was in even greater danger than Madrid but did not fall. Instead it survived to become the Leningrad of today despite the fact that revolutionary Russia at that time did not have the outside help which she is giving revolutionary Spain.

SOVIET FILMS ARE SHOWN

A gigantic portrait of Stalin was set up in the Puerta Del Sol facing the Interior Ministry. Only Russian propaganda films, such as "Kronstadt" were exhibited in Madrid's moving picture theaters. Ambassador Rosenberg, of course, attended the gala first night performances of these pictures and his arrival in a theater would be the signal for the audience to rise and sing the "Internationale" with fists raised in the Leftist salute.

Mr. Rosenberg attended mass meetings called as demonstrations of the fraternal solidarity existing between Russia and the Spanish Leftists. Seated on the platform with Mr. Alvarez del Vayo he invariably allowed the Foreign Minister of his choice to do the talking. He would merely acknowledge the Foreign Minister's flowery introductions with a few words of greeting in his soft, high-pitched voice. He is a gentle-mannered little man and in Madrid's exclusive Leftist press he is referred to as "Comrade Marcel." Mr. Rosenberg was conspicuous among those present at the funerals of Commander Ristori and other Loyalist heroes killed in action. He usually stood beside Mr. Alvarez de Vayo or some other Cabinet Minister.

To arouse the fighting spirit of the people of Madrid the Foreign Minister said in October at one of the mass meetings in Mr. Rosenberg's honor that if Madrid fell the Loyalists would have lost the war. This phrase was incorporated in the text of a big poster which bore Mr. Alvarez del Vayo's portrait and was intended to stiffen Madrid's resistance to the Rebel onslaught.

Just about a month later Comrade Marcel, General José Asensio, then the military chief; Mr. Alvarez del Vayo, who also was Chief Commissioner for War, and the rest of the

new Largo Caballero Cabinet, including three anarcho-syndicalists, deemed it prudent to have all their mail forwarded to Valencia, according to the official statement issued then. The capture of Madrid by General Franco would be of relatively little strategic value to him and by no means would it end the war, it was stated then.

Although the people of Madrid know little about Russia it has become the fashion for them to do nearly everything in what they hope is the Russian manner. Government militiamen, receiving ten pesetas per day, eagerly purchase with their earnings peaked caps decorated with the Communist star, similar to those worn by soldiers in the Soviet Army. The regulation caps issued by the Government to them with their uniforms resemble the overseas headgear worn by United States soldiers in the World War.

When Comrade Marcel first arrived in Madrid, he was installed with his staff in the Hotel Alfonso, but soon afterward was moved to the more luxurious Palace Hotel, which had been taken over by militia and converted supposedly into an "emergency hospital" a few days after the civil war began.

RUSSIAN CARS SUPPLIED

A requisitioned automobile of an American make was immediately put at his disposal and when he was last seen in Madrid, the Russian Ambassador was still using this car, although his government meanwhile had supplied to the Madrid government an imposing fleet of heavy trucks manufactured in Russia. The streamlined, 1936 model automobile in which he has been riding was one of the thousands of cars, including many belonging to Americans and other foreigners, seized by the militia at the outset of the war.

Far in advance of Russia's decision to aid the Spanish Government openly—without, however, withdrawing from the non-intervention pact—Russian war materials, including trucks, planes, tanks, and munitions, were reported in the Madrid press as being received by the Loyalist forces and Russian instructors were said to be drilling militiamen at Albacete, teaching them military discipline, how to handle tanks and how to use artillery. Foreign volunteers, said to have been composed of 2,000 Frenchmen and 2,000 Russians, were being organized at the same time. They were

giving instruction to Spanish militiamen at Albacete early in October.

In the early days of the war, before General Franco's men were anywhere near Madrid, many girls from working class families enlisted in the militia and donned the same blue denim overalls—called “monkey suits” in Spain—that the men wore. War was just a lark to them in those days, but four and one-half months later it has become a grim class struggle that now demands that they exterminate or be exterminated.

FREE SERVICE FOR MILITIA

Throughout August and most of September, shops, cafés and most motion picture theaters were open for business as usual. Restaurants and cafés were invaded by laughing, joking girls and youths of the militia. They received generous service of free food and drinks. The Government liberally handed out slips of paper entitling café and restaurant owners to collect payment. Nothing was too good for the militia.

The foreign volunteers have now unquestionably strengthened and improved Madrid's defenses under the direction of their commander, the German-French-Canadian, General Emilio Kleber. General Kleber spent his childhood in Toronto and served with Canadian troops in the World War. Later he fought for the White Russians in their campaign against Leon Trotsky's Red Army. Another foreign commander is the Austrian General Julius Deutsch, former War Minister and organizer of the Socialist militia of Vienna.

Then there are many Russian officers in the Loyalist Air Force. Others are commanding tank companies or artillery units and some even leading infantry columns. I saw several of these Russian officers at the front in University City. They speak no Spanish, but give their orders in French to a Spanish officer who interprets to the men. Classes for instruction of some militiamen in the Russian language, have been established in Madrid.

JUNTA FORMED ON SOVIET MODEL

After the Cabinet had left for Valencia on November 7th, the new defense junta, on a strictly Soviet model but headed by General Miaja, was organized in Madrid. Mem-

bers of the Cabinet were replaced in their different Ministries by military officials under the title of Commissars. There were then a Commissar for War, a Commissar for Communications and Commissars for other services, who, presumably, kept in touch with the civil Ministers at the Government headquarters in Valencia. This parallels to some extent the system of control established by labor groups over business and industry in Madrid. Labor control commissioners were established in banks and other business offices to supervise all transactions.

This correspondent is able from personal experience to confirm the existence of these controls. For example, take the radio service. When arranging for a broadcast to the United States the writer was obliged to submit his broadcast text to the Commissar of Communications instead of to the regular news censor and also had to obtain approval for the technical arrangements from the Labor Commissioner in the radio service, who was apparently one of the technicians. All the hotels now operating in Madrid are under the supervision of commissioners who formerly were waiters, elevator operators and other minor employees.

CENSORSHIP BY FOREIGNERS

Even the regular censorship has been invaded by foreign inspectors. When the Foreign Office took over the censorship service a Russian frequently censored the dispatches of French, British and American correspondents. Not long ago an Austrian woman—a former Viennese Social Democrat who had fled to Madrid—also took up work in the censorship of news going out of Madrid.

The censorship established in Madrid, both for the Spanish press and for foreign correspondents, was on lines much more in keeping with Soviet ideas in this connection than with the customs of a democratic régime. All telephoned and telegraphed dispatches had to be passed personally by a censor, and objections that the censors raised were constantly of such a nature as to exact strict adherence to government policy and the removal of all critical statements with regard to the situation in Madrid. For example, in a dispatch describing an air raid a censor objected to a mention of the fact that a Loyalist plane had been brought down

in combat. He asserted that if it was necessary to mention planes being brought down, the planes referred to must always be those of the Rebels.

TRANSLATIONS FOR ALL DISPATCHES

Dispatches submitted for censorship had to be accompanied by Spanish translations and in one instance this correspondent, when he called to obtain his censored text, was informed by the censor that his copy had been destroyed. Upon expressing his resentment in a somewhat vigorous fashion he was taken by the censor before an Assault Guard, before whom he was charged with having insulted the Spanish Republic. On his explanation that his exclamation had been merely intended to convey dismay, the Assault Guard took no action. A similar case that involved a British correspondent ended less happily, however, for the correspondent was asked by the Assault Guard what his political affiliations were in England. Upon giving a reply that he was a Conservative, the correspondent was taken to jail, where he was obliged to remain seventy-two hours—apparently chiefly because Conservatives in Spain were in bad odor at that moment.

On another occasion when stopped by militiamen this correspondent showed his newspaper credentials, but was asked to explain whether he worked in America for a Popular Front newspaper. The most satisfactory answer under such circumstances was always in the affirmative, which made all parties satisfied and caused no trouble to any one. Encounters with militiamen were not always, however, so easily got through and one incident which occurred to this correspondent was suppressed by the censor when he endeavored to cable an account of it to his paper. The censor observed cynically that the dispatch could be reserved for a future date when the correspondent would probably get more pleasure in publishing it after he had left the country.

In any case, the facts of this case are as follows: At 9 o'clock on the morning of October 24th, four National Confederation of Labor militiamen accompanied by a porter who, in the United States would be called a building superintendent, rang the front doorbell of an apartment. On the door was pasted a notice in Spanish and signed by the United State Consul, John D. Johnson. It read: "To whom

it may concern. In this apartment lives William P. Carney, citizen of the United States of America. Kindly treat his property as that of a foreigner."

ORDERED TO OPEN DOOR

I asked the militiamen what they wanted. They curtly ordered me to open the door. The building superintendent then also advised me to follow instructions. But I replied that unless the militiamen had an order from police headquarters authorizing them to search my home and were accompanied by a police officer I, as a foreigner, was not obliged to open the door. To this they replied that if I did not they would shoot through it and break it in. Thereupon I opened the door. The spokesman for the militiamen asked me for my papers. I again warned him of my rights as a foreigner and asked him if he had any authorization to search my apartment. He raised his rifle close to my face and said:

"This is my authority."

I protested that according to official orders issued some time ago no militiamen had the right to enter apartments either of foreigners or Spaniards unless they had an order from the Direction General of Security [general police headquarters] or were accompanied by a police agent. To this the spokesman answered:

"We have finished with all that now."

I then allowed them to search my apartment and showed them my American passport. I handed this document to him upside down and he gravely appeared to be reading it without turning it and then returned it to me with a sneer: "You are probably Fascist."

I replied that an American was not likely to be a Fascist, whereupon he assured me that he himself on the previous day captured ten American Fascists living in the very same street where my apartment was situated. I was the only American then living on that street.

I warned this militiaman that I intended to advise both my embassy and General Police Headquarters as well as the Foreign Ministry of the manner in which the search of my houses was carried out. He said:

"Protest to anybody you like, I would search your house even if you were a Frenchman or Russian and we are going to search all foreign embassies, too, very soon now."

When they had gone I telephoned to the Director General of Security. Thirty minutes later two police agents came to my house and expressed regret for what had occurred. They assured me I was quite right in maintaining that militiamen had no authority to enter my apartment. I asked them what I should do if I was again visited by militiamen who demanded the right to enter my home by the authority of firearms. They insisted emphatically that I would not be bothered again.

When I recounted this story to Eric Wendelin, Third Secretary of the United States Embassy, who was acting Chargé d'Affaires, he said a protest would be made and he advised me to come to the embassy to live in the meanwhile if I thought my personal safety was in danger. He added that all of the approximately 150 American citizens still living in Madrid were being advised that day that they could return to the embassy to live if they believed they would be safer there.

MANY GO TO THE EMBASSY

After the aerial bombardments in Madrid became severe many Americans accepted this offer and at one time, not including guards and servants who also were sheltered on the premises, there were as many as sixty-six persons there. However, upward of seventy Americans throughout remained in their own residences. In the embassy Americans living there were provided with food and beds. Some men had to sleep on mattresses on the floor. Only newspaper men were allowed to leave the building. The embassy maintained an auto service to assist Americans in cases of emergency, but gasoline was extremely scarce and only urgent calls could be answered.

The same sort of foresight which prompted the Cabinet in its abrupt departure for Valencia has been exercised in other domains. Early provision was taken to be certain that the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain should not fall into the hands of the besiegers. Long before Madrid was in danger, airplanes systematically transported gold into the safekeeping of foreign banks although to this day its whereabouts has not been definitely traced. Some say a large amount went to Barcelona and Soviet Russia while others say a considerable sum is deposited in the Bank of France's branch

at Toulouse. There have been reports that some of the Spanish gold found a way into Britain. There is not, however, so much mystery regarding the amount itself, which, according to the last Bank of Spain statement, was 2,000,000,000 pesetas.

Some time in the neighborhood of November 20th the Financial Commissioner of the Defense Council issued an order that all national banks should transfer the funds and stock held in Madrid to branch offices in Eastern Spain. The banks were ordered to open their safe-deposit boxes and transfer in the same manner all money and stocks found there belonging to clients. Foreign banks were invited to do likewise. They refused to comply and at least one prepared to close its offices and wind up its affairs if the invitation was renewed.

ONE BANK INVADED

Without waiting for approval of the order the Finance Commissioner invaded the premises of one bank and started to carry it out. The order since has been published and now has legal force.

A precaution of like character was ordered early with regard to Spain's immense wealth in art. The El Grecos of Toledo were brought to Madrid before the city was stormed. Many art objects were removed from the capital when fear of a siege developed. Many paintings by Velasquez, Titian and Goya took the quarters vacated by the emigrant gold reserves and were transferred to safety in unoccupied vaults in the Bank of Spain. After the siege began the whole Prado Art Gallery was dismantled and a large number of paintings and treasures shipped to eastern provinces.

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WILLIAM P. CARNEY

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PERHAPS the most controversial and revolting features of the whole civil war and siege have been the continuous executions of prisoners who have been guilty of no other crime than their affiliation with some political group or social caste, and the systematic campaign against the Church and Church education, promoted by the present authorities.

The executions began with the first day of the rebellion, following wholesale arrests, carried out first at night and then in daylight. Some personal instances will serve better than statistics of the dead to give an idea of these unbelievable events.

At first priests and nuns were arrested and I saw numerous bodies lying in streets and vacant lots on the outskirts of the city which, by unmistakable signs, I knew to be those of persons connected with Religious Orders. Frequently I visited the morgue and saw the bodies of those who had been executed. There were 125 bodies on September 26th, 300 on September 28th, and for days the average seldom was under 100. I saw 200 bodies the last time I was allowed to enter, on October 5th. At that time the morgue officials expressed the opinion that I was exhibiting unhealthy curiosity and pointedly advised me not to return.

It seems a conservative estimate up to last week 25,000 persons were executed in Madrid. Naturally, such a wholesale tragedy makes less impression than individual tales, but such are often open to suspicion of exaggeration. But I am able to give some instances beyond denial. At first suspects were rounded up and shot without any preliminary examination, but later the People's Court was established, before which they were placed on trial.

Four men were sentenced by this court and government from the Model Prison near University City, which later be-prieved. Reports of the reprieve were published in all

Madrid papers and communicated to the foreign press. Two days later these four men were rearrested and shot without trial.

I have personal knowledge, too, of the case of Admiral Javier de Salas, Minister of Marine in the Lerroux Government. Admiral de Salas was arrested in his home and taken to the Model Prison with Martinez de Valasco, Melquiades Alvarez and other former Ministers. When taken from his cell in the middle of the night he was asked by an armed militiaman why he had been arrested. Admiral de Salas answered that he was unable to account for his arrest except that he was a former Marine Minister and had been seized with several other former Ministers. Without further questioning he was led into the prison courtyard and the militiaman was aiming a revolver at his head when militiamen on the roof fired machine guns at a group of other prisoners in the courtyard. The militiaman with Admiral de Salas fell to the ground, fearing to be a victim of the machine gun volley, but soon jumped to his feet and fled. Admiral de Salas, who had also dropped to the ground, lay as dead throughout the night. The next morning he was able to regain his cell. Several weeks afterward he was again called from his cell and this time he suffered the ordeal he had at first escaped at the hands of the careless executioner.

NAMES OBTAINED IN RAIDS

The names of many persons arrested were obtained through raids on party headquarters, where membership lists were obtained. Some of these victims were rescued through the intervention of South American embassies in a style recalling the adventures of the Scarlet Pimpernel.

These arrests and executions have not abated. They have continued even during the siege. On the night the Government quit Madrid 1,600 male prisoners in the jails were delivered into the hands of the militia entrusted with conveying them out of the capital. The biggest exodus was from the model prison near University City, which later became the scene of actual fighting. Some were transferred to near-by points, but the fate of those removed far afield has not been determined. The discovery of two large collective graves, coupled with other evidence, strengthens a

presumption that the majority were murdered in two batches November 7th and 8th.

As to the anti-religious campaign, which has been so vigorously encouraged throughout the civil war, it suffices to say that the strongest impression one feels upon coming out of Spain is the distinction existing outside between Sunday and other days of the week. So far has the anti-religious movement gone that in Madrid Sunday is precisely like any other day.

REMAINING CHURCHES FORTRESSES

All churches that were not burned have been converted into fortresses. Barricades have been built about them and confessional boxes have been placed outside for use by militiamen as sentry boxes. It was said in excuse for the burning of churches that the Fascists had been using them as fortresses, but subsequent history shows the value of this excuse. There have been no Masses since July, and there are probably not half a dozen priests in the city.

Here again a small personal incident tells more vividly than all these facts the extent to which attacks on religion have been carried. This correspondent, in speaking to a small child of the working classes, used what used to be a common form of taking leave in Spain, the word "adios."

The three-year-old child rebuked this by saying, "We are at war—we don't say 'adios' any more; we say 'salute,'" and he raised his little fist clenched in the Communist manner.

Officially the Government spokesmen deny any anti-religious policy. Premier Largo Caballero's newspaper *Claridad* says: "We consider it premature to put forth the religious question because nobody has prohibited freedom of worship." Nevertheless, the churches remain closed.